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AN APPROACH TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN NEW MEXICO.

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NORTHERN NEW MEXICO IS DEFINED TO INCLUDE THOSE NORTHERN COUNTIES DOMINATED BY RURAL, SPANISH-AMERICAN CULTURE, GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES AND HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS ARE DESCRIBED. THE STUDY PRESENTS DATA ON PRESENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS, OBSERVATIONS AS TO CAUSES OF THESE CONDITIONS, INCLUDING REASONS FOR UNSUCCESSFUL GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE PROGRAMS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS. IT DISCUSSES STATE AND LOCAL PER CAPITA INCOME, DEPENDENCE OF THE AREA ON WELFARE, DIFFERENCE IN CULTURAL VALUES, HISTORIC CULTURE CONFLICTS, AND TRANSITION OF THE PEOPLE FROM AN ECONOMY DEPENDENT ON SELF-CONTAINED VILLAGES TO LOSS OF THEIR LAND HOLDINGS, FORCING AGRICULTURAL MIGRANCY UPON THEM. REASONS CITED FOR FAILURE OF GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE PROGRAMS IN THE AREA WERE CULTURE CONFLICTS, RIGIDITY OF PROGRAMS, AND FAILURE OF PROGRAMS TO MEET BASIC NEEDS OF THE AREA. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT INCLUDE FLEXIBLE, COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO THE CONDITIONS OF THIS REGION, UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN CULTURES, DEVELOPMENT AND USE OF NATURAL AND RECREATION RESOURCES, IMPROVEMENTS IN LAND USE AND AGRICULTURAL TECHNIQUES, MARKETING-COOPERATIVE FORMATION, EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IMPROVEMENT, AND SMALL INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENT. (FS)

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# AN APPROACH TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN NEW MEXICO

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Introduction.

Northern New Mexico is arbitrarily defined here for the purposes of this article as the area north of Highway 66. It includes Sandoval, Santa Fe, San Miguel, Mora, Taos, and Rio Arriba Counties and those sections of the neighboring counties that are predominantly Spanish-American in population. Los Alamos is not included, as its social and economic characteristics are quite distinct from those of the surrounding counties. Bernalillo County is excluded, as it is so completely dominated by the urban characteristics of Albuquerque.

Formed by the southernmost extension of the Rocky Mountains, the heartland of northern New Mexico is composed of what Van Dresser calls the "northern New Mexican Uplands". Split into two halves by the Rio Grande Valley, it is a well-wooded peninsula with fairly abundant precipitation rising high above the semi-arid plains and plateaus of the state. A region of high relief, it is broken horizontally by upheaved mountain masses and dissected vertically by numerous canyons and steep valleys. With true winter seasons, extremely low winter temperatures, and long lasting snow packs, the area has a climate quite distinct from that of the rest of New Mexico.[1]

Three major river basins, the Rio Grande, the Pecos, and the Canadian, all originate in these high northern highlands. As a result almost all of central and eastern New Mexico and West Texas as well as parts of Oklahoma are directly dependent upon water resources originating in northern New Mexico. They are also affected by changing water and land use patterns, erosion,

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precipitation, run off and by the processes of urbanization, industrialization, and commericial development in the northern sector of New Mexico.

This mountainous zone is inhabited primarily by the Spanish Americans. Descendents of early colonizers who moved into New Mexico in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, they form a compact rural grouping in southern Colorado and northern New Mexico with ribbons of settlements running along the major rivers flowing from the northern New Mexican mountains. In culture, racial composition, and language, they differ sharply from all other Spanish-speaking groups in the United States. Living in complete isolation for several hundred years, they gradually evolved into a distinctive rural culture drawing upon both Spanish and Indian elements.[2]

No other section of the state, indeed of the entire Southwest, has attracted as much attention from artists, writers, atomic scientists, and tourists. The blueness of the sky, the quality of the sunlight, and vivid colors of the rock, the evergreen covered mountains, the endless vistas, and the earth colored adobe villages have brought about the creation of a regional school of art and literature that has produced much of value. It has also spread over northern New Mexico a flase and affected romantic haze that has concealed the poverty, the economic decline, the abandoned villages, land erosion, malnutrition, high rates of infant mortality, the out-migration, the economic and cultural exploitation, and the apathy and despair of the inhabitants of the region.

Once northern New Mexico was the center of the economic, social, cultural, and political life of the entire state. For all practical pruposes, it was New Mexico. Now the tides of human migration and the processes of government investment in defense industries and military bases, agricultural development, mineral exploitation and urbanization in other sections of the state have

thrust northern New Mexico out of the mainstream of the state's economic life. Once its inhabitants, the Indians and Spanish Americans were the New Mexicans. Today the Spanish Americans have become an ever diminishing poverty stricken minority.

However, northern New Mexico and its Spanish-speaking inhabitants haunt the dreams of prosperity and progress of New Mexico. Almost every New Mexican faced with rising tax levies becomes uncomfortably aware of the ever increasing costs of welfare and other types of dependency payments. Enormous amounts of tax revenue now pour from the economically more developed areas into northern New Mexico to assist its inhabitants. Either the northern counties will be brought up to the levels of the more fortunate sections in the state, or they will continue to be subsidized by them.

The economic problems of northern New Mexico have reached a point where they can not be solved by local private enterprise or leadership. The region, to break out of the strangling noose of economic decline and social and cultural disorganization needs outside assistance. Even more than assistance it needs the sympathy and good will of the rest of the state and of the state and federal governments. Without this sympathy and good will, it is doubtful that the problems of northern New Mexico can be solved.

It should be pointed out that the rest of the state can ill afford to forget about conditions in northern New Mexico. The dramatic transformation of New Mexico in twenty years from a rural state largely dependent upon agriculture, livestock, and mining into a thriving urbanized economy rests upon very fragile and insecure foundations. The creation of massive federal projects and the discovery and extraction of oil and uranium have led to rapid economic progress. New Mexico, as a result, is today almost completely dependent upon the Federal Government and upon private corporations headquartered

outside the state. Decisions made in Washington, D. C., in New York, or in Dallas guided by factors extraneous to New Mexico could have sharp and violent repercussions on the state's economy. Ours is a colonial economy in every sense of the word. It is one that can not long withstand the economic abscess of a chronically underdeveloped and distressed area.

Purpose of the Study.

This study will be organized in the following manner. (1) Data on the present economic and social conditions in northern New Mexico will be presented. (2) A few personal observations on the causes of the distressed situation of the northern counties will be made. (3) Some of the reasons why many well-planned and financed government and private programs in the area have not had the success that it was hoped for will be analyzed. (4) And finally some recommendations will be made for economic and social development of northern New Mexico.

Economic and Social Conditions.

The existence of unfortunate, almost tragic economic and social conditions in northern New Mexico can easily be documented. Statistics on median family income and per capita income sharply silhouette the poverty of the inhabitants. In every case the year quoted is the last for which data are available. For the year 1959 the median family income for the state of New Mexico was $5,371. In Mora County it was $2,094. Conditions were no better in other northern counties. A family in Sandoval County received a median income of $2,409; in Taos County, $2,204; in Rio Arriba County, $2,984; and in San Miguel County, $2,905. Santa Fe County because of the presence of the state government fared better, $5,182. The average family income in these northern counties

is about one half of what families enjoy in other sections of the state.[3]

In 1959 only 24.4 percent of New Mexico's families earned less than $3,000 a year. In northern New Mexico during this same year, 68.9 percent of the families in Mora County earned less than $3,000 a year. In the other counties with the exception of Santa Fe, the percentage of families existing on less than $3,000 in 1959 ranged from 64.9 percent in Taos County to 50.2 percent in Rio Arriba County. In Santa Fe, only 26.3 percent of the county's families earned less than $3,000.[4]

The same tale of human misery is illustrated by the 1961 statistics on per capita income. In this year the state per capita income was $1,846. In the more prosperous counties of Los Alamos, Bernalillo, Dona Ana, and Lea, the per capita income was $3,238, $2,220, $2,046, and $3,174 respectively. In grim and harsh contrast are the statistics for the northern counties, Mora County, $662; Sandoval County, $689; San Miguel County, $902; Taos, $818; and Rio Arriba County, $1,124. The higher figure for Rio Arriba County can be traced to the number of persons in the lower part of the county employed at Los Alamos.[5]

The high chronic rate of unemployment is a major factor in the poverty of northern New Mexico. In 1961 the rate of unemployment for the state as a whole was only 5.1 percent. In sharp and harsh contrast are the statistics for the northern counties. In Mora and San Miguel Counites 16.0 percent of the labor force in each county was unemployed. Taos and Rio Arriba Counties each had 13.0 percent of their workers unemployed. The percentages for the other northern counties were a little better. Only 8.4 percent of the workers in Sandoval County and 5.6 percent in Santa Fe County were listed as unemployed.[6]

These statistics do not reflect the real situation. Thousands of workers and their families have migrated from northern New Mexico in search of employment.

The constant erosion of the working force, the life blood of the region, is demonstrated by the sharp decline in the labor force of the northern counties between 1950 and 1960. During this period, Mora County lost 49.9 percent of its working force. Taos County suffered a decline of 21.3 percent. In Rio Arriba County, 20.1 percent and in Sandoval County 12.6 percent of the working force migrated. San Miguel and Santa Fe Counties did not lose workers in this census period.[7]

It can be seen from the above figures that thousands of Spanish Americans are fleeing the northern counties in search of better living and working conditions. While the population of the state of New Mexico gained 39.6 percent, Mora County lost 30.9 percent of its population; San Miguel County, 11.5 percent; Taos County, 7.1 percent; and Rio Arriba County, 3.2 percent. Sandoval and Santa Fe Counties were the only ones in the region that gained population during this period.[8]

Few New Mexicans are aware of the incredible extent to which northern New Mexico has developed a subsidized welfare economy. The six counties of Mora, San Miguel, Rio Arriba, Santa Fe, Taos, and Sandoval contain only 13.54 percent, 128,794, of the state's 1960 population, 951,023. Yet they received 30.77 percent, $6,936,734 of the total welfare dispursements of $25,797,325 from July 1, 1962 to June 30, 1963. Throughout the state, $27.10 was spent for each inhabitant. In San Miguel County, $92.47 was distributed for each inhabitant. The situation in the other northern counties was but little better. For Mora County, $87.99; Rio Arriba County, $75.22; Sandoval County, $37.13; Santa Fe County $38.19; and Taos County, $73.53 was spent. This unbelievable dependency of northern New Mexico upon welfare can only be solved by a comprehensive economic, social, and cultural rehabilitation of the area.[9]

The impact of social disorganization, cultural breakdown, and the processes

of economic and social change are responsible for the unfortunate and badly distressed conditions in northern New Mexico. Although the Spanish Americans are not the only grouping with problems in northern New Mexico; almost every regional problem does involve the Spanish Americans directly or indirectly. It is hopeless to believe that northern New Mexico can move toward a higher plateau of economic development or activity unless the complex and difficult economic, social, and cultural problems of the Spanish-Americans are recognized and well-planned endeavors made to resolve them.

Futhermore, every economic problem in northern New Mexico has its social and cultural components. Milliones of dollars have been wasted in the area by private and public programs that failed because a purely economic approac was adopted. Unless it is recognized that Spanish-American values, traditions, attitudes toward time, and ways of thought and behavior differ sharply from those of the English-speaking Americans, future programs will continue to fail as they have in the past.

The Spanish Americans in northern New Mexico range from those who have little understanding of the values and concepts of Anglo-America to those who are thoroughly acculturated. The majority of them fall into a continum somewhere between these two poles. English-speaking Americans in both private and government agencies and organizations frequently operate on the principle that there are unimportant basis cultural differences between the Spanish Americans and themselves. They are often bewildered and frustrated by Spanish-American behavior that does not seem to meet their expectations. The Spanish Americans in turn are often confused, frightened, and baffled at the behavior of Anglo-Americans. There is a cultural gap of misunderstanding that is difficult to bridge.

Any Anglo-American who wishes to bridge this gap must see New Mexican

history through Spanish American eyes. As no history of the state has yet been written expressing the Spanish American point of view, few Anglo-Americans have any idea of the extremely harsh impact of American control upon the Spanish Americans. Like the American Indians, the Spanish Americans were conquered in war and forced to become American citizens against their will. Like the American Indians, their property and civil rights were guaranteed to them by a treaty that was violated as soon as it was signed. Like the Indians they were treated as a conquered people to be civilized and without property rights that must be respected. Unlike the Indians, they have never at any time enjoyed even the minimal and ambiguous protection offered the Indians by a government bureau and by interested private organizations. Unfortunately, they have not as yet developed an effective defense organization through which they could defend their rights and speak to the American people and to the American government.

Every Spanish American has historical memories of the injustices and exploitation suffered by his people. These memories are handed down from one generation to another and color the attitudes of the Spanish Americans toward Anglo-America and toward the state and federal government. The cultural stereotypes and fears that are a product of this attitude are among the cultural barriers that handicap adequate economic and social development in northern New Mexico.

It is also important that the student of northern New Mexico should have some knowledge of the many economic cycles through which the region has passed. Many of these cycles have been destructive of the natural resources of the region. Although all have had their moment of prosperity and boom, they tend to decline, leaving behind attitudes, values, and inefficient economic activities that are partially responsible for the poor economic and physical conditions

of northern New Mexico. Unfortunately few of them have been properly studied. Among these cycles are the following: (1) the Spanish American cycle of village subsistence agriculture, (2) the cycle of mercantile capitalism that so long controlled the New Mexican edonomy, (3) the economic activities of the Santa Fe ring and its associated political and economic activities, (4) the cycle of commercial cattle ranching, (5) the early timber cycle with its philosophy of cut down and get out, (6) the mining cycle, (7) the homestead cycle, (8) the cycle of the modern, commercial, partially subsidized agricultural system, based on elaborate and expensife irrigation structures, (9) recently the uranium and oil cycles, and more recently (10) the cycle of government defense and military installations. No one can hope to understand the economic history of New Mexico, let alone that of northern New Mexico, without some understanding of the impact of these cycles upon both the state and the northern counties and their role in the changing relationships between Spanish American, Anglo-American, and Indian.

Northern New Mexico remained fairly prosperous as long as the Spanish American village economy functioned. In spite of increasing tensions and strains caused by chronic loss of land and increasing population, the economy managed to stagger on until it collapsed in the 1930's. Built around the interlocking institutions and patterns of the self-sufficient farm village, a strong extended patriarchal family, the Patron system found in most of the villages except in the far northern reaches, and a folk version of Roman Catholicism, the Spanish-American culture was most resistent to acculturation and to Anglo control until recently.[10]

The major reason for its collapse in the 1930's and early 1940's was the continued ercsion of village landholdings. From 1854 to 1930, the Spanish Americans lost over 2,000,000 acres of private landholdings, 1,700,000 acres

of communal village lands, 1,800,000 acres taken over by the state, and even more vast acreages lost to the Federal government. The Spanish Americans caught in a web of a political and legal system that they never thoroughly understood were stripped of their land by every legal and political device that lawyers, politicians, and businessmen could devise. This land loss is still continuing.[11]

The erosion of the village land base, coupled with high rates of population increase, forced thousands of men into the agricultural migrant labor stream. Most reluctant to leave their native villages, the men were forced to go beginning in the 1880's. The dollars earned in migrant labor financed the cash needs of village families. This migrant stream under the impact of the depression came to an end in the 1930's. Hunger, malnutrition, unemployment, and fear stalked the villages until the coming of federal relief programs. The depression marked the end of the independent, self-reliant Spanish American village economy that for so long had been resistent to the outside world.[12]

World Ware II accelerated the process of cultural disorganization, economic decline, and population shrinkage. More than half of all the men and older boys in the villages either entered the military services or moved to defense industries. Unable to find work in northern New Mexico upon conclusion of the war, they picked up their families and migrated. Many villages were entirely abandoned. Many families, although migrating, refused to sell their lands; they preferred to keep them as a form of unemployemtn insurance. These lands remain today in almost total abandonment.[13]

The existing conditions in northern New Mexico have been the subject of numerous government reports, monographs, and private books and articles. Many programs from the 1930's until now have been devised to improve conditions in northern New Mexico. Except for some quite successful state programs developed on a small basis, most of them have not had the desired success.

Millions of dollars have been spent in northern New Mexico with little of permanent value achieved except for temporary increases in purchasing power and personal indebtedness.[14]

Reasons for Planning Failures in Northern New Mexico

The basic causes for the weakness of many government and private programs can be traced to the following three major groupings of factors: (1) culture conflicts, (2) the rigidities and lack of flexibility of government programs, and (3) the failure to develop programs that meet the basic needs of the Spanish Americans.

Cultural Factors.

The first serious cultural obstacle to planning in northern New Mexico is the stereotyped attitudes that each group has toward the other. The Spanish Americans are incredibly suspicious of Anglo-Americans living or working among them. The coming of the Anglo has meant land loss, tax increase, and similar unpleasant events. The second major cultural obstacle is the language barrier. Many English-speaking Americans and acculturated Spanish Americans resent the fact that the Spanish Americans persist in speaking Spanish. This is regarded as a form of impertinence. Many Spanish Americans resent the fact that their language and culture should be regarded as inferior by the Anglos. Any Anglo planner or administrator who takes the trouble to learn enough Spanish to communicate with the Spanish Americans around him will reap rich dividends. Third, many programs have failed because there was a basic lack of linguistic communication between Spanish and Anglo-Americans.

A fourth cultural stumbling block is the basic failure of government and private agencies to really speak to the Spanish Americans. They tend to talk above them. Groups of English-speaking Americans, educated in colleges

and universities, often with considerable experience in their agencies, tend to treat planning from a purely economic or rational point of view. If a plan can be drawn up that rationally fits the geographic and economic factors involved, then it should work. One but needs to sell it to the natives. Unfortunately, the natives may well have their own ideas about their problems that differ from the ideas of the planners.

The inability to identify real Spanish American leaders is a fifth cultural problem that handicaps planning in northern New Mexico. Anglo-Americans tend to assume that the richest, the most successful, the best educated, and the most literate Spanish Americans should be village and community leaders. They fail to realize that precisely because these men are so differentiated from the masses of Spanish Americans that they seldom are real Spanish-American leaders.

Rigidities and Lack of Flexibility in Programs.

Then there are the problems created by the basic structure of government and private agencies. Most of them operate on the basis of matching funds or long term loans on a cash repayment basis. The Spanish-American farmers seldom have cash on hand and are thus unable to participate effectively in many government programs that do exist.

Furthermore, most government rural or agricultural programs are geared to the individual commercial farmer. They are not flexible enough nor do they recognize the possibility of working with the village as a unity or with village cooperatives. Many state government programs such as the well program and the building of small irrigation structures on the upper Pecos have had considerable success precisely because they recognize the Spanish-American village as the basic unit of planning and program development. It is my opinion that Federal and private agencies must also recognize the village as their basic planning unit before their programs will have the success that they desire.

Many private and federal agencies active in northern New Mexico have developed a philosophy, a set of rationalized values to defend their existence. Each agency tends to have a different set of values and often to pursue differen goals. It has proven extremely difficult in northern New Mexico to develop an effective and harmonious, cooperative relationship between different agencies.

Even more serious is the fact that many of the programs being pushed in northern New Mexico were developed nationally or in other segments of the specific regional jurisdiction of the agency. They may well have worked in the South, in the Midwest, or on the Great Plains but will not work in northern New Mexico because of differing geographical and cultural environments. The rigidities of programming and the inability to develop regional variations in basic programs are important factors in the lack of success in northern New Mexico.

Another important factor in program failure is the narrow specialized approach of each agency. No single agency has ever been able to take a look at the entire situation and to plan for the total environment. There is no mechanism for the joint exchange of information and of ideas on the higher echelons between agencies.

And finally the most basic and fundamental factor underlying the inability of government and private agencies and programs to better conditions in northern New Mexico is that they treat the symptoms of the problems and not the basic causes. What is needed is a comprehensive program geared to fundamental factors underlying the economic decline of northern New Mexico.

Social and Cultural Recommendations.

In discussing the economic potentialities and weaknesses of northern New Mexico, it is important to realize that areas in Europe with similar natural environments have, through close application of technical skills to

existing agricultural, forest and mineral resources, been able to create a highly prosperous economy with high living standards, Switzerland is perhaps the best example.

Several centuries ago these were rural, somewhat stagnant areas on the fringes of the European economy. They are today highly prosperous countries, whose products are shipped all over the world. What these countries have done through the application of human intelligence can be done in New Mexico. The principal lesson that we can learn from them is that the present unfortunate economic and social conditions in New Mexico do not have to exist. They can be changed through research, planning, and economic and social development if the people of New Mexico wish to do so. The cost will be high, but the alternative cost of continued economic decline and social deterioration will be even higher.

A regional council of northern New Mexico should be established by state and Federal action on which representatives of all government agencies and interested private groupings would be represented. It should be completely autonomous and free of any political interference. Care should be taken to see that all the counties in northern New Mexico are adquately represented an that Spanish Americans are represented at every level of policy making and implementation. The council should be headquartered within the region. There is a lack of basic data on almost every aspect of northern New Mexico that must be remedied before meaningful action programs can be devised.

One of the first steps that such a council should do is to begin an accelerated exploration, survey, and mapping of mineral deposits in the area. Maps should also be made of soil types and degree of erosion, underground and above ground water resources, distribution of mature timber stands and areas in which reforestation is needed, potential development of range lands, local climatic zones, [illegible] and wildlife resources, actual and potential recreational

zones, and historical sites suitable for development. The mapping would have to entail the cooperation of all private and government groups active in New Mexico.

Agriculture.

The majority of Spanish American farming units are too small, inefficient, under-capitalized, and are farmed with archaic techniques. Irrigation facilitie are primitive and inadequate. Such farms can not provide a decent living for those who farm them. However, certain actions can be taken to improve the farming potentialities of northern New Mexico. The majority of villages have been deprived of all or a good part of their farming and range land. If some agency could be set up to buy this land and to sell it to the village under conditions that the village could meet and not lose the land again, an adequate land base might be restored to many farming areas in the northern counties. Irrigation facilities can be rehabilitated under a program by which the villagers could provide common labor and raw materials and the state or other agency would provide technical assistance, heavy machinery, and special skills. Probably for every dollar invested by the agency, the villagers would invest many more dollars.

The modest state program to rehabilitate diversion and irrigation structures on the upper Pecos is a fine example of a successful project that had had tremendous beneficial impact upon the agricultural activities of the affected villages. Such programs should be extended to very river and stream in northern New Mexico. Each project should be so planned that when finished there will be no irrigation charges to be paid. The costs of the project will have been liquidated. Large dam projects such as the Elephant Butte Dam, with their heavy annual cash charge upon irrigated land, costs hundreds of Spanish American farmers their land.

Other agricultural programs that would definitely assist Spanish-American and other farmers in northern New Mexico would be: (1) the establishment of small experimental farms in each of the different climatic zones in northern New Mexico to develop strains of vegetables, fruits, and grains that are best fitted for the local combination of soil types, climatic conditions, and available water supplies; (2) the establishment through a State Department of Agriculture adequate grading and marketing facilities utilizing the auction system for major forest and agricultural commodities such as fruit, grains, vegetables, pinyon nuts, and Christmas trees. This program would assist the local northern farm to obtain a maximum profit for his products. Under the present system truckers and jobbers are apt to make more profit from the farmer's labor than the farmer himself.

Cooperative arrangements offer another system by which the small farmer through cooperation is able to survive. Utilizing the example of the present cooperative ditch system, northern farmers could establish tractor and equipment cooperatives, consumer cooperatives, and producer cooperatives. Undoubtedly some agency would have to provide training in the management of cooperatives as well as credit to get them established.

In the final analysis, a system of agriculture based upon the above mentioned principles may well offer as good a change of success in the long run as the highly commercialized, highly subsidized, and extremely insecure type of commercial farming found in many areas of southern and eastern New Mexico. Growing urbanization in New Mexico and the surrounding states may also provide an expanding market for the products of northern New Mexican agriculture. Undoubtedly, agriculture is not possible as a commercial enterprise in many sections of northern New Mexico. However, when combined with employment in industries and commerce, it may well provide protection against temporary

unemployment and at least enable many families to grow part of their own food supply.[15]

The livestock industry among Spanish Americans in northern New Mexico has sharply diminished in importance. The Spanish-American villages lost most of their range land fairly early. What they still have is in general badly eroded. It is vitally important to adopt adequate range rehabilitation procedures in New Mexico. The Spanish Americans have been hard hit by the decline in the sheep industry. If many Spanish Americans are to remain or to enter the livestock industry, measures will have to be taken to acquire adequate land facilities for villages and private ranchers. The formation of village cooperative sheep and cattle cooperatives might well have conisderable value in the area.

Mining.

Mining at one time was an extremely important source of employment in northern New Mexico. It also provided considerable support for local merchants and other businessmen. The general decline in coal mining and in other types of mining have hit the area hard. To what degree this decline is permanent is hard to say. Greater exploratory activities might uncover new and important mineral deposits. Changes in the market could bring other closed mines into new activity. As northern New Mexico has never had an adequate mineral survey, it is impossible to say what the role of mining will be in the future of northern New Mexico.

Forest Resources.

The forests of northern New Mexico are one of the most important natural resources of the entire region. There are about 3,037,000 acres of commercial forests in the seven counties of Mora, San Miguel, Santa Fe, Sandoval, Rio Arriba, Taos, and Colfax. This does not include lands set aside as national parks or wilderness areas. The federal government owns 42.9 percent, private interests

45.3 percent, 2.1 percent belongs to the state, and 9.6 percent is found on Indian lands. Although these forests have suffered in quality and quantity from heavy and destructive practices in the past, they are still capable of providing large quantities of commercial lumber and other timber products.[16]

As scientific principles of forest management are put into practice in the northern forests of the state, more men will find employment in the forests. The progressive and careful development of the forest reserves can lead to the establishment of a large and stable industry based upon the utilization of the timber resources of the area.

Before any rational and carefully planned utilization of the forests can be made, a network of access roads must be built throughout the forest areas. These roads are of utmost importance. They not only open an area up to lumbering but they also provide access for fishermen, hunters, campers, hikers, and livestock. Such roads are especially needed to make it possible to create plans for the rational and scientific harvesting of timber resources. In some areas, considerable quantities of mature timber are going to waste or being destroyed by insects becauses of the lack of access roads.

There are between 50 and 100 local lumber mills in northern New Mexico. Most of these are small mills producing rough, unfinished lumber with a low dollar value. Many of them are operating on a day to day basis. Through training of owners and managers, proper financing, and aid in marketing, it is possible to expand the number of sawmills. It would also be possible to develop cooperative sawmills owned by village cooperatives and that would provide employment for village labor. These cooperative mills would have to be properly financed, adequately equipped, and well-managed. This is an area in which the Area Redevelopment and the Rural Area Development programs could be of considerable assistance in helping villages to organize such cooperatives.

Most of the value of the local lumber is being lost. As it is sold as rough unfinished lumber, it commands a low price on the market. If the lumber could be sold in finished form, the value received by the mill owner would be many times over what he now receives. The Forest Service estimates that for every dollar received by the original timber owner, an average of $17.60 is added to the value of the wood before it reaches the consumer through processing, fabrication, transportation, and distribution of the finished wood products. These dollars could be added to the economy of northern New Mexico if various industries could be established to turn the raw lumber into finished products to be sold directly to the consumer. Every effort should be made by the state, federal, and private agencies concerned with northern New Mexico to assist in the development of integrated forest industries. Village and local industries can turn out posts and poles, doors, casing and paneling for home constructing, sash, molding, siding, interior finish, flooring, sheathing, subflooring, mine timbers, cabinets, boxes, crates, sport goods, toys, novelties, furniture, and handicraft items for surrounding and out-of-state markets.

The sawdust and other forms of waste produced by sawmills and by finishing plants is now burnt. Much of it could be turned into commercial products. Dry sawdust can either be sold as stuffing, packing, fur and metal cleaning, and sweeping compounds or it can be processed to produce a variety of elements such as wood flour, pressed boards, fuel briquettes, and many others.

In connection with the forests, Burma had made a very worthwhile suggestion. He states that a special program of conservation, rehabilitation, and reforest-ation should be adopted by private forest owners as well as by the government to hire yound high school graduates. Their earnings whole or in part could be paid to them in the form of credits for tuition, board, and other expenses at New Mexican education institutions. This plan would provide labor for the needed rehabilitation of forest lands and enable many hundreds of northern

New Mexican youth to attend state universities who because of financial problems are unable to go.[17]

Handicrafts.

The federal government and many private organizations have fostered the development and expansion of traditional Indian handicrafts. Many Indian groups have obtained substantial revenues from handicraft products. Schools have been established to teach handicrafts and art to Indian children in New Mexico. Although there are some problems of marketing and competition from cheap industries imitating traditional Indian designs, Indian handicrafts are an important asset to New Mexico.

Few people in New Mexico realize that there has existed in the state a Spanish-American tradition of handicrafts. At one time Spanish-American weavers, wood carvers and furniture makers, pottery makers, and silversmiths produced products of beauty and skill. Receiving no encouragement and faced with a declining commercial market, those handicrafts have virtually died out in the last generation. In a few villages where local families or artist encouragement have provided a market for handicraft products, they still persevere.

If these handicrafts could receive the same type of protection and assistance as the Indian handicrafts have received, an important source of revenue could be opened for many village families. Many families could find permanent employment and others part time employment during winter months when there is little work to be had in many sections of northern New Mexico.

A state handicraft board might well be organized by either private groups or by the state or both to sponsor Spanish-American handicrafts. Such a board could provide sources for adequate raw materials, maintain quality standards through a certification program, and work to establish markets.

Handicraft boards of other countries have, by making essential contacts with interior decorators, fashion experts, and clothing designers, opened substantial markets for handicraft products in the United States.

Recreation.

The mountains of northern New Mexico are the nearest mountains to thousands of people in the hot, semi-arid lowlands of Oklahoma and Texas. As population increases and living standards rise, more and more people will seek refuge from the tensions of modern existence in forests and mountains of the state. Even now, northern New Mexico attracts the major share of all tourists who visit New Mexico to hunt, fish, hike, or to visit scenic and historic sites. Recreation, already a major industry, will undoubtedly increase rapidly.

In the development of recreational opportunities found in northern New Mexico, there are two roads that the state can take. One road is to permit outside interests and large corporations to develop lavish recreational resorts, motels, hotels, hunting lodges, etc. Another road is to encourage the local inhabitants to open stores, cafes, filling stations, motels, hotels, and resorts.

Village groups should be trained to operate resorts, motels, hotels, curio shops, and others might be trained as guides and packers. If Spanish Americans can be made aware of the economic potentialities of tourism and recreation, undoubtedly many of them will want to encourage and revive village fiestas, ceremonies, and other village events. Here again Switzerland can serve as an excellent example. Almost every inhabitant of Switzerland benefits from the visits of tourists and sports enthusiasts rather than a few large corporations.

Education.

The economic development of northern New Mexico is decisively handicapped

by the inade school system. In spite of the heroic endeavors of dedicated teachers and administrators, the children of northern New Mexico do not receive the same quality of education as do children in other sections of the state. As children migrate from northern New Mexico to other areas of the state, these areas have to accept workers who are often not well-trained or educated enough to contribute effectively.

Finance is not the only major problem of northern school systems. The basic problem is one of a defective and maladjusted educational philosophy. Children in the northern counties are taught as though they came from English-speaking homes and were all going to college. The result is that these schools have the honor of turning out students who are often functionally illiterate in two languages and unfitted for skilled employment.

The state school system is over-centralized and inflexible. It does not permit adjustments to local situations. School systems in northern New Mexico should not operate on the same basis as schools say in Clovis. They should be completely adjusted to local conditions in order to best meet the needs of Spanish-American children.

The school system should accept and utilize the language and cultural values of the Spanish-American children. It should emphasize genuine bi-lingualism and produce children equally at home in Spanish and English. The need for Americans who have mastered more than one language is extremely acute at the present time. Minority groups who speak non-English languages should be regarded as a national resource who linguistic skills are to be preserved and utilized. This also means that English should be taught as a foreign language, using the skills and techniques that have been devised to teach English to non-English speaking children all over the world.

Furthermore, the schools of northern New Mexico should pioneer in the

creation of advanced and enriched vocational training programs. Students should be trained as technicians and skilled workers able to find well-paying positions in government, industry, business, or in the universities. Present vocational programs are often sadly outdated.

The schools should also utilize the cultural values of the Spanish-American children to eradicate the present value conflict between school and home. The schools should stress the handicrafts, the art, and the music and dance of the people of the area. It is utterly ridiculous for a teacher to teach Appalachian folk music and dance to Spanish-American children when Spanish-America folk dance and music are so rich. In this manner the schools could protect its children from the devasting feelings of inferiority that so frequnetly haunt Spanish-American children.

If the serious economic, social, and cultural problems of northern New Mexico are to be resolved, there is need for research, planning, and for the formation of adequate administrative and policy making bodies within the state. The basic research should be carried on essentially by state universities and colleges. Unfortunately, except for individual sporadic efforts, no state university or college has yet developed a long range program of research and discovery in northern New Mexico. The time is ripe for the formation of institutes at New Mexican universities and colleges specializing in the study of the problems of northern New Mexico. Among these institutes might be an inter-ethnic institute devoted to the study of economic, social, and cultural change among the ethnic groups of the state. Such an institute might also render considerable assistance to the people of the area in the formulation of cultural and social programs, the training of village and community leaders, the encouragement of handicrafts and folk arts, and in developing better means of communication between minority groups and the dominant Anglo grouping within the state. An educational institute is badly needed as part of the

department of education of one of the major universities. It could properly train and prepare teachers for northern New Mexico who are able to meet the basic educational needs of northern New Mexico and who understand the cultural background of the children they are to teach.

Industry.

Certain economic and geographical conditions in northern New Mexico determine to a large degree the type of industry that should be attracted there. Industries that require abundant quantities of water obviously are excluded. Mass production industries based on large nearby urban markets probably could not locate in northern New Mexico. Other industries where high freight rates and distance from populated centers are competitive factors should settle elsewhere. Fly by night industries that exploit poorly paid workers ought to be discouraged.

Business enterprises that can more profitably locate in this area are those that will utilize the basic natural resources such as timber, agricultural products or minerals and stone building. Examples of such industries that might successfully utilize agricultural products are processing plants for fruit, chile, and perhaps other vegetables. Plants utilizing apples and peaches from the growing orchards of the region in the preparation of jams, jellies, cidars, apple butter and related products seem to offer an excellent investment opportunity for businessmen to prosper. State grading and marketing facilities would certainly assist the formation of a high quality food processing industry.

The extraction of building stones such as granite, sandstone, and flagstone offers potentialities for profitable development. Some industries of this type are already in the process of fromation. Local flagstone companies extracting some of the very attractively colored flagstone in San Miguel and

elsewhere may very well develop markets in the urban areas of New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma. They may need assistance in marketing and in credit facilities.

Another type of local small scale industry that merits consideration is the utilization of local handicraft skills in jewelry making, weaving, furniture making, and wood carving industries. Such industries operating on little capital and building up gradually may well create good markets among tourists and then move into out of state markets.

Industries producing materials and skills needed by the large defense establishment in the state also offer a promise. Too little attention seems to have been given to the possibilities of participating in the procurement activities of government agencies and large corporations active in western America. Perhaps some state or private agency might at least analyze procurement practices of such groups within New Mexico to ascertain whether services and products purchased from out of state might not be obtained within the state. Definite assistance may have to be given to local companies in bid preparation and in making contacts by state and private agencies.

Before bringing in outside industry, every assistance should be given to already existing industry and business. Definite preference in terms of local and state taxation and other forms of favors should be provided to local companies. There are many small companies and industries in northern New Mexico struggling hard to stay alive. It would seem proper that universities and state and federal agencies as well as private groupings should provide management training courses in northern communities and assist local businessmen with specific problems in management, production, or marketing. Credit needs should be analyzed and provisions made by the larger banks in Santa Fe or Albuquerque to provide credit. Frequently local banks in northern New

Mexico have such stringent local credit regulations that they choke off needed credit to local business. Many of these companies are unable to participate in federal credit programs because of hampering restrictions and tight credit regulations.

There are many men who perhaps have once held positions of importance in industry, business, and government in retirement in New Mexico. Some of them might enjoy forming small consulting groups to provide needed services free or for a small fee to small struggling businesses and industries in northern New Mexico. The challenge and adventure might help them to better enjoy their retirement in New Mexico.

In closing, I would like to quote the following statement prepared by the A. D. P. Conservatory Committee and State Planning Office on the Penasco Basin Development Study.[18]

> Achievement of such a 'high level' rural economy counts on such factors as: (a) intensification of agricultural land use leading to a horticultural type of agronomy requiring a relatively dense concentration of man-power and capitalization par acre and yielding protein-vitamin foods of high exchange value; (b) a correlative development of localized industries utilizing regional resources and specialty skills; (c) development of a comprehensive forest management and forest products utilization plant and program similarly requiring intensive employment in silviculture and a derivative wood technology; (d) physical planning and programming for a full-scale area recreation resources utilization, permitting maximum benefits and employment consonant with good conservation and multiple-use principles; (e) facilitation of institutional arrangements within the area which will maximize conservation practices, sustained yield vegetative and soil management, and multiple land use programs; and (f) encouragement and facilitation of credit, marketing and exchance institutions within the area which will support the technical and economic processes outlined above.

Either Northern New Mexico will be given the assistance that it needs to solve its multiple and complex economic, social, and cultural problems, or it will continue to handicap the progress of New Mexico and of the more fortunate sections of the state. There is no other alternative.

1. Peter Van Dresser, Development Potentials of the Northern New Mexico Uplands, (Santa Fe, N.M.: Regional Development Association of Northern New Mexico, 1961), pp. 3-5.

2. Clark S. Knowlton, "The Spanish Americans in New Mexico", Sociology and Social Research, 45 (July, 1961), pp. 448-454. See also John H. Burma, Spanish-speaking Groups in the United States, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1954; and Olen E. Leonard, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1941).

3. New Mexico Business, Vol. 15. No. 2. Section 1, p.3.

4. Regional Development Association of Northern New Mexico, Provisional Overall Economic Development Plan for North-Central New Mexico, (Santa Fe, N.M.: 1963), n.p.n.

5. Arthur A. Blumenfeld, 1961 Supplement to Income and Employment in New Mexico, 1949-1959, (Albuquerque, N.M.: Bureau of Business Research, The University of New Mexico, 1964), p. 18.

6. New Mexico Business, Vol. 16, No. 5. p. 4.

7. Op. Cit. Provisional Overall Economic Development Plan for North Central New Mexico.

8. United States Census Population, 1960, New Mexico General Population Characteristics. pp. 15-16.

9. New Mexico Department of Public Welfare, Annual Report, July 1, 1962-June 30, 1963, p. Appendix A, Table 1.

10. Clark S. Knowlton, "Causes of Land Loss Among the Spanish Americans in Northern New Mexico", 1 (May, 1963) pp. 201-211.

11. Allan G. Harper, Andrew R. Cordova, and Kalervo Oberg, Man and Resources in the Middle Rio Grande Valley, (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1943) pp. 61-62.

12. Ibid., pp. 62-65.

13. Charles P. Loomis, "Wartime Migration from the Rural Spanish-American Villages of Northern New Mexico", Rural Sociology, 7 (December, 1942), pp. 384-395.

14. For an outdated list see Lyle Saunders, A Guide to Materials Bearing on Cultural Relations in New Mexico, (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1944).

15. For a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of Spanish-American farming techniques and land use, see Kalervo Oberg, "Land Use Planning in Cuba Valley, New Mexico", Rural Sociology, 5 (December 1940) pp. 438-448

16. John H. Burma and David E. Williams, An Economic, Social and Educational Survey of Rio Arriba and Taos Counties, (El Rito, N.M.: Northern New Mexico College, 1961), pp. 23-29.

17. Ibid.

18. Statement prepared by A.D.P. Conservatory Committee and State Planning Office concerning the Penasco Basic Development Planning Study found in Burma and Williams, Ibid., p. 45.